

Introduction

Georg Christ and Franz-Julius Morche

This volume is the result of a workshop held in Venice in July 2015, which assembled an international and intergenerational network of scholars to celebrate the life and ongoing achievements of Benjamin Arbel. The themes of the meeting naturally revolved around Professor Arbel's lifelong scholarly interests: the Venetian colonial empire and its changing nature in the wider context of the early modern Mediterranean. Following up on earlier discussions of the Venetian maritime realm and its colonial-imperial or commonwealth-type characteristics, the workshop set out to address three principal problems: how did the Venetians conceptualize their maritime realm?¹ Which connectivities did it produce and depend on? How exactly was it shaped by, and rooted in, its specific Eastern Mediterranean environment?

Based on the papers given and discussed at the workshop, this Festschrift presents a nuanced but holistic collection of studies that are firmly grounded in primary sources while approaching the Venetian realm from a range of different perspectives. One might even find that it mirrors the ways in which members of the Venetian realm, while bowing to the *dominante*, contributed to a common project by pursuing their own interests. This apparently paradoxical Venetian strategy of *laissez-faire dirigisme* can arguably be seen as the true source of the Republic's ultimate demise.² Yet this tricky balancing act between centralistic-bureaucratic

- 1 "The Venetian *Commonwealth* between 1204 and the End of the Republic – Identity and Specificities," Venice, March 2013, <http://www.istitutoveneto.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/808>. For example, the contribution of Benjamin Arbel and his use of the term 'colonies' with reference to the Venetian Stato da Mar triggered a lively response. For the published proceedings, see Benjamin Arbel, "Una chiave di lettura dello Stato da Mar veneziano nell'età moderna: La situazione coloniale," in *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermano Orlando (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015), pp. 155–179; for the term "colonial empire," see p. 165.
- 2 See Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England 1450–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015), p. 21.

integration and communal autonomy, between liberty and domination, also reflected the consensus in which Venetian rule was rooted and which could not be easily altered. A binary reading of success and failure glosses over the possibility that this “unfinished empire”³ was perhaps never meant to be an empire as such, and that it varied too much from place to place and over time to be subsumed under one simple heading.

How then should we approach the Venetian maritime realm in the wider context of studies on political culture, state formation, and empire building? Was the Venetian maritime realm a confederation, a commonwealth, part of a colonial empire, or a sui generis conglomerate of very different entities relating to the city and duchy of Venice in a variety of ways? How important was the Venetian element in the Venetian domains, and how should we understand their relations to the city of Venice: as violent or peaceful, as centralized or decentralized, enforced, contracted, or negotiated? The contributions in this volume provide variegated answers, highlighting the vibrant state of the field and indicating a number of possible paths for future research.

1 The Venetian Maritime State: Framing Considerations

The historiography of the Venetian maritime realm is expansive, and the reader may wish to refer to the recent survey article by Benjamin Arbel for a succinct overview of the relevant scholarship.⁴ Here we will focus on three elements: the notion of the Venetian realm as an empire, the contextualization of regional and local studies on Venetian territories, and the analytical approaches to actors of the Venetian overseas realm.

3 A term coined with regard to the British Empire (see John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*, London: Allen Lane, 2012), which is often seen as the more successful imperial successor of Venice. See Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire*, pp. 349–358 and passim. This work was not yet published when our workshop was held, yet it touches upon many similar issues.

4 Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” see also id., “Colonie d’oltremare (cap. x),” in *Storia di Venezia Dalle Origini alla Caduta della Serenissima*, vol. v: *Il Rinascimento Società ed Economia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), pp. 947–985.

Venice and Empire

From early modern observers to modern historians, it has been common to regard Venice as an empire.⁵ The nature of this empire, however, and what it meant to be part of it, was a matter of fierce debate among early modern contemporaries, and continues to be a controversial subject.⁶ Some, perhaps mindful of this state of affairs, have attempted to side-line the historic precedents of empire and instead apply the term as a primarily analytical concept.⁷ Maria Fusaro's useful definition,⁸ for example, captures one of the central

5 Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. 4, where she lists a number of works using the term empire, to which one might add: Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 125–253; Sarah Arenson, "Food for a Maritime Empire: Venice and Its Bases in the Middle Ages," in *Maritime Food Transport [the International Commission for Maritime History – Assembled at the 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Madrid (26 August to 2 September 1990)]*, ed. Klaus Friedland (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), pp. 177–185; "carved herself out an empire," Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World* (London: Fontana Press, 1984), p. 119; David Sanderson Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970); Philip Roger Crowley, *City of Fortune: How Venice Won and Lost a Naval Empire* (London: Faber & Faber, 2012); D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Erin Maglaque, "The Literary Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Empire," *Italian Studies* 73, no. 1 (2018): pp. 35–52; id., *Venice's Intimate Empire: Family Life and Scholarship in the Renaissance Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018); Serban V. Marin, "The Venetian Community – Between Civitas and Imperium: A Project of the Capital's Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro," *European Review of Economic History* 10, no. 1 (2003): pp. 81–102; id., "Venice and *translatio imperii*: The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition," *Annuario Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 3, no. 3 (2001): pp. 45–103; Dennis Romano, "City-State and Empire," in *Venice and the Veneto*, ed. Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 9–30; Geoffrey Vaughan Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c. 800–1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981); Charles Tilly, "Cities and States in Europe, 1000–1800," *Theory and Society* 18, no. 5 (1989): pp. 563–584, here 564, 571; Peter Topping, "Venice's Last Imperial Venture," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, no. 3 (1976): pp. 159–165; Veronica West-Harling, ed., *Three Empires, Three Cities: Identity, Material Culture and Legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750–1000* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); also see Maria Fusaro, "Venetian Empire," in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Chichester: John Wiley, 2016), pp. 2173–2183.

6 See note 1 above.

7 What Fusaro suggests calling "functional empire." Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. 9.

8 Ibid., p. 5: "Polity in which leaders of one society also rule directly or indirectly over at least one other society, using instruments different from (though not always more authoritarian

elements of the Latin term – that is, a de facto rule over a province.⁹ In classical Latin, however, *imperium* carries additional layers of meaning, including that of the oriental-Hellenistic universal empire of Alexander the Great.¹⁰ Moreover, applying “empire” to Venice as a purely analytical term (however defined) is prone to confusion, as the label is hardly a clean slate and was used in as many different ways by contemporary observers as it is in modern scholarship.¹¹

Perhaps reflecting the ambiguity of the Latin term, in early modern Venice “imperium” was used by different actors for different purposes, for instance to denounce the operational overreach and expansionisms of any would-be Alexanders.¹² It could also positively invoke the early phases of Roman Republican expansion, or, more negatively, the decadence of late imperial Rome.¹³ In a more neutral sense, it was used to signify the opposite of *ecclesia*, meaning secular government.¹⁴ Or it could simply stand for the Venetian realm, as seen in the diaries of Girolamo Priuli.¹⁵ By the time the Spanish ambassador described the *Stato da Mar* dominions of the Adriatic as “a wild beasts’ lair or a robbers’ roost” that “serve[s] only to maintain the appearance of a great empire,” the term was already being used to describe the form of early modern colonial empire that is familiar to us today, and Venice was derided as a

than) those used to rule at home.” It is based on a definition proposed in Kenneth Pomeranz, “Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change,” *Journal of World History* 18 (2007): pp. 69–98, here 87.

9 Alejandro Colás, *Empire* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), pp. 5–6; Pagden, however, distinguishes three types: full authority over a limited entity; authority over more than one political unit; full authority over an entity by a single person. See Anthony Pagden, *Lords*, p. 17.

10 Ibid., p. 23 et seq.; Colás, *Empire*, p. 12.

11 Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. 9; Arbel “Chiave,” p. 164.

12 In this sense it was used in Milanese propagandistic writing, see Monique O’Connell, “Humanists, Diplomats, and Historians of Empire in Fifteenth-Century Venice,” paper presented at RSA 2015 Berlin, 26–28 March 2015; also ead., “Legitimizing Venetian Expansion: Patricians and Secretaries in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Venice and the Veneto During the Renaissance: The Legacy of Benjamin Kohl*, ed. Michael Knapton, John E. Law, and Alison A. Smith (Florence: Florence University Press, 2014), pp. 71–86, here 76: expansion not for greed but for the ‘health’ of Italy. This is also echoed in Priuli’s diaries: “Ruina delo imperio Venetto cauxato tutto per questa maledicta ambitione,” Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, ed. Arturo Segre and Roberto Cessi (Città di Castello/ Bologna: Casa Editrice S. Lapi/ N. Zanichelli, 1912–1944), p. 313. Here the term empire, however, is not connected to the ‘damned ambition’ – it is not even a stylistic apposition, as the term reoccurs several times (see below).

13 O’Connell, “Legitimizing,” p. 75.

14 See Hugo Grotius, *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* (Paris, 1648); also Dante Alighieri, *The De Monarchia*, trans. by A. Henry (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1904).

15 Priuli, *Diarii*, pp. 213, 313 (see above), 342, 429.

poor man's version of such an empire.¹⁶ Venetian eighteenth-century reform treatises also used the term.¹⁷ Thus, conceptualizations of Venice as an empire appear to date back at least to the beginning of the early modern period.¹⁸ The claim of Venetian rule over the sea, which on closer examination can be limited to the Adriatic, dates back even further – at least to the early fourteenth century. Legend has it that the pope granted this rule in 1177 in return for help against the emperor, which conveniently elevated Venice to the heights of a (para-)imperial polity.¹⁹ This claim hinged on the Serenissima's ability to curb piracy, which also conveniently tied in with the justification for Venetian overlordship: that Venice preserved liberty in her dominions.²⁰ Ancient liberty (indeed “original” liberty gained with the “end” of the Roman Empire) and the virtuous stability of Venetian political institutions were mobilized in order

-
- 16 Report by the Spanish ambassador Don Alonso della Cueva, 1618, in Brian Pullan, David Sanderson Chambers, and Jennifer Fletcher, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 32.
- 17 Filippo Maria Paladini, *Un caos che spaventa: poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta* (Venice: Marsilio, 2002).
- 18 See also, Johann Melchior Fuesslin, *Eigentliche Abbildung der feyrlich beschwornen Bundes-Erneuerung zwischen... Venedig ... und ... Zürich und Bern* (Zurich, 1706), StArchiv ZH C 1, nos. 470, 473, 468. Vollmacht an ven. Residenten Vendramino Bianchi, unterschr. Sekr. Gasparo Marino 11.05.1706; Protokoll über Beschwörung vom 11.01.1706, Bundesvertrag (Latin, with three seals) 12.01.1706. Thanks to B. Rieder, MA, state archivist, who provided this information.
- 19 Bonincontro dei Bovi, “Incipit Hystoria de discordia et persecutione quam habuit Ecclesia cum Imperatore Federico Barbarossa...,” in *Le vite dei dogi vol 1*, ed. Marino (the Younger) Sanuto, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Muratori) t. xxii parte iv (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900–1911), pp. 370–417, here 394 et seq.; Castellano da Bassano, “Venetianae pacis inter Ecclesias et Imperum libri duo,” in *Le vite dei dogi di Marino Sanuto*, op. cit., pp. 485–519; Antonio Battistella, “Il Dominio del Golfo,” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 35 (1918): pp. 5–102; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2002); Serban V. Marin, “Venice and translatio imperii: The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles’ Tradition,” *Annuario Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 3, no. 3 (2001): pp. 45–103; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); David M. Perry, “1308 and 1177: Venice and the Papacy in Real and Imaginary Crusade,” in *La papaute é et les croisades: actes du VII^e Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Avignon 27–31 août 2008*, ed. Michel Balard (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 117–129; Filippo de Vivo, “Historical Justification of Venetian Power in the Adriatic,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): pp. 159–176; also see Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik* (Munich: Beck, 2004).
- 20 Battistella, “Il Dominio del Golfo,” p. 23.

to set Venice apart from the usual imperial life cycle of rise and decline, as a new Jerusalem or *Roma aeterna* and as a quasi-royal *civitas*.²¹ In the early period of expansion, the Venetian documentation reveals a reluctance to conflate city and dominions, instead emphasizing differentiation over integration, for example with respect to Venetian citizenship.²² Later, however, Venice also promoted the image of the *city* as a quasi-empire, ruling over multiple kingdoms.²³

In the nineteenth century, the notion of the Venetian empire became widespread, especially in England.²⁴ The architectural historian John Ruskin established the idea of a *translatio imperii* of sea-borne empires from the Phoenicians via Venice to the British Empire.²⁵ In the wake of his hugely influential *Stones of Venice*,²⁶ Anglo-Saxon historians in particular identified the Venetian realm as a precursor to the British Empire.²⁷ The idea of imperial rise and decline would place the Serenissima within the context of fading economic and political power in Byzantium or the Levant while also interpreting the history of early modern Venice, despite the longevity of its institutions, as one of decline.²⁸

21 David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 99 et seq. and passim; Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), pp. 18, 25; William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 54 et seq. The idea of original liberty was deconstructed already in the early modern period: Louis Hélian, *Lo squitino della libertà originaria di Venezia: con un discorso di Luigi Helian, ambasciatore di Francia, contro i Veneziani* (Cologne: Pietro di Martello, 1681); for royal status, see Gaetano Cozzi, "Venezia regina," *Studi Veneziani* XVII (1989): pp. 15–25, here 25.

22 See below.

23 Cozzi, "Venezia regina," p. 25.

24 Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. vii et seq., p. 358, and passim.

25 "Since the first dominion of men was asserted over the ocean, three thrones, of mark beyond all others, have been set upon its sands: the thrones of Tyre, Venice, and England. Of the First of these great powers only the memory remains; of the Second, the ruin; the Third, which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction." John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, vol. 1: *The Foundations* (New York: John Wiley, 1880), p. 1, see Fusaro, *Political Economies*, pp. vii et seq., 358.

26 Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*.

27 Fusaro, *Political Economies*, pp. 357 et seq.

28 For the decline-paradigm, "Déclinologie," see Jean-François Bayart, "Karen Barkey, Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, online 2009, <https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/3976> accessed 20/11/2018; for decline studies on Venice: Luciano Pezzolo, "The Rise and Decline of a Great Power: Venice 1250–1650," *Working Paper, Department of Economics, Ca' Foscari*

Consequently, conceptions of pre-modern empires remain strongly shaped by anachronistic notions, positing them as a *Sonderfall* of the modern state akin to that of the British Empire, rather than as an overarching entity.²⁹ Although powerful and arguably convenient in the Victorian imagination, the resulting concept of Venice as an empire is of rather limited use in assessing the specificities of Venetian overseas rule. Emphasizing inner-Venetian relations, such a focus risks glossing over local and regional dynamics and trans-Venetian connectivities. It also draws too sharp a distinction between the Venetian realm and its broader rim – the Venetian communities in places outside of Venetian jurisdiction.

The Nature of Venetian Rule – Contextualization of Regional Studies

Studies of empire often adopted (and continue to adopt) a national focus: the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Venetian empire etc. More recently, however, there has been a stronger focus on peripheries and their actors.³⁰ Both these approaches have been variously applied to the Venetian maritime realm, and many studies on parts of this realm have been presented, for instance in proceedings of conferences hosted by the *Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (IVSLA) and the Hellenic Institute, both in Venice.³¹ Yet the focus has remained

University of Venice, no. 27 (2006); also see Charles Poor Kindleberger, *World Economic Primacy: 1500 to 1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Fusaro, *Political Economies*; for a short summary of models of imperial decline, see Alexander J. Motyl, *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

29 Krishan Kumar, "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States: Two Principles, One Practice?" *Theory and Society* 39, no. 2 (2010): pp. 119–143; Colás, *Empire*, pp. 18–23.

30 E.g. Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 127; Judith Herrin, *Margins and Metropolis – Authority across the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2013); Frédéric Bauden, *The Mamlūk Sultanate and Its Periphery* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); Stephanie M. Teixeira and Keri E. Iyall Smith, "Core and Periphery Relations: A Case Study of the Maya," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 14, no. 1 (2015): pp. 22–49; Tolga U. Esmer, "Economies of Violence, Banditry, and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800," *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (2014): pp. 163–199.

31 IVSLA conference proceedings, e.g. Gherardo Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998); id. and Dino Puncuh, ed., *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII–XIV: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova – Venezia, 10 – 14 marzo 2000* (Genoa, 2001); Sandro G. Franchini, Gennaro Toscano, and Gherardo Ortalli,

strongly Venetian, as highlighted by the term “Venetocracy” (a special case of “Frankocracy”).³²

Despite or perhaps because of the wide range of existing case studies, the nature of Venice’s maritime possessions remains a matter of debate. Some emphasize the Venetian reluctance to extend its dominion. Benjamin Arbel, for instance, has shown that, in the early modern period, the alternative to Venetian rule was often less desirable, which prompted some to voluntarily subject to direct or indirect Venetian domination.³³ Others point to the strong federal elements in the Venetian realm, arguing that these set Venice apart from other

eds., *Venise et la Méditerranée* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2011); Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando, eds., *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015); Gherardo Ortalli, and Alessio Supracasa, eds., *Rapporti mediterranei, pratiche documentarie, presenze veneziane: Le reti economiche e culturali (XIV–XVI secolo)* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2017); Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt, eds., *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando, *Comunità e società nel Commonwealth veneziano* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2018); Istituto Ellenico proceedings: e.g. Chryssa A. Maltezou, ed., *Kypros-Benetia: Koinos istorikes tukhes = Cipro – Venezia: Comuni sorti storiche (Atti del simposio internazionale, Atene, 1–3 marzo 2001)* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2002); Chryssa A. Maltezou and Aspasia Papadaki, eds., *Rethymno veneziano, atti del simposio (Rethymno, 1–2 novembre 2002)* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2003); there are also many studies produced in the former Venetian possessions, e.g. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, ed., *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima: Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice* (Nicosia, 2009); Nikolaos M. Panayiotakes, ed., *Krete: Istoría kai politismos* (Herakleion: Syndesmos topikon enoseon dimon kai koinotiton Kritis, 1990); Conference “Venezia e il senso del mare: Percezioni e rappresentazioni,” Venezia, 28.11.2019.

32 William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1908). For the term Venetocracy, see Chryssa A. Maltezou, *E Krete ste diarkeia tes periodou tes venetokratias* (Herakleion: Syndesmos topikon enoseon dimon kai koinotiton Kritis, 1990); for Venetian as colonial rule, see Arbel, “Una chiave.”

33 Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” p. 137; in an earlier period the picture would be slightly different, see also Rudolf Pokorný, “Ein Herrschaftsvertrag mit Rücktrittsrecht der Untertanen: Karpathos, 1307,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, no. 1 (2008): pp. 155–168; also Guillaume Saint-Guillain, “Protégé ou dominer? Venise et la mer Égée (XIII^e–XV^e siècle),” in *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015), pp. 305–338.

models of political organisation.³⁴ Yet other historians prefer to use the term *commonwealth* to refer to the Venetian realm.³⁵

Proponents of the notion of a Venetian colonial empire have pointed to Venice's military conquests and violent take-overs, for instance in Crete, with the proto-colonial conversion of the island's economy to export-oriented cash crop production, including sugar and sweet wine (which, however, benefitted both Latin and Greek elites).³⁶ The Venetians also established a new allochthon elite on the island, used slave labour and engaged in slave trade, and occasionally repressed the local population.³⁷ Finally, the Serenissima sought

- 34 Carlo Cattaneo, *La città: considerata come principio ideale delle istorie italiane* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1931); see also James Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *The Journal of Modern History* 58, no. 1 (1986): pp. 43–94, here 47; Gherardo Ortalli, "The Genesis of a Unique Form of Statehood, between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age," in *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015), pp. 3–12. Gherardo Ortalli, "Venezia inventò il commonwealth nel Medioevo: Storici a confronto all'Istituto Veneto per capire la forma-Stato della Serenissima," *La Nuova Venezia* 32 (06.03.2013): 37, <http://www.istitutoveneto.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeAttachment.php/L/IT/D/9%252F1%252F4%252FD.93b913083f2599e79bb/P/BLOB%3AID%3D808/E/pdf> accessed 25/02/2019 12:07:53.
- 35 Ortalli, Schmitt, and Orlando, eds., *Il commonwealth veneziano*, op. cit., see in particular Ortalli's "The Genesis of a Unique Form of Statehood, between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age," *ibid.*, pp. 3–12; Stephan Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites of Zadar: Dalmatia and the Venetian Commonwealth (1540–1569)* (Rome: Viella, 2013), p. 18: "res publica cum imperial power."
- 36 Georg Christ, "Did Greek Wine Become Port? Or Why Institutional Interventions Matter (c. 1350–1780)," *Quaderni Storici* 143, no. 48, 2 (Aug 2013): pp. 333–358; David Jacoby, "La production du sucre en Crète vénétienne: l'échec d'une entreprise économique," in *Rodônia: Timè stòn M. I. Manóusaka [Homage to M. I. Manoussakas]*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltzou, Th. Detorakes and Chr. Charalampakes (Rethymno, 1994), pp. 167–180, reprinted in David Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Ugo Tucci, "Il commercio del vino nell'economia cretese," in *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre–5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), pp. 183–206.
- 37 O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, pp. 77 et seq. and passim; Sally McKee, "Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete," *Past & Present* 182 (February 2004): pp. 31–53; Elisabeth Santschi, "Contrats de travail et d'apprentissage en Crète vénétienne au XIV^e siècle d'après quelques notaires," *Revue suisse d'histoire* 19 (1969): pp. 34–74; Charles Verlinden, "La Crète, débouche et plaque tournante de la traite des esclaves aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani nel Venticinquennio di Cattedra universitaria*, vol. 111 (Milan: Giuffrè, 1962), pp. 593–669; on the Saint Titus revolt, see Sally

to redirect trade flows towards its central markets in the lagoon, and to generate a fiscal surplus in the metropolis.³⁸

In this context, Gherardo Ortalli, has warned against focusing too narrowly on various local experiences and phenomena, advising scholars “to [not] lose sight of the global dimension”, that is, to contextualize their findings on one Venetian entity within the wider context of the entire realm.³⁹ This makes good sense, and in pursuing this avenue one might well find that there is plenty of truth to be found in the contrasting views on Venetian rule. The precise ways in which Venetian rule articulated itself depended very much on specific local circumstances and periods, reflecting local bargaining power as well as the modalities by which a polity had become “Venetian.”⁴⁰ A comparative view of different modes of Venetian rule can certainly do much (and has done much, for instance in Arbel’s appraisal of the early modern maritime realm) to reach a more holistic assessment. One might argue, however, that there is more to a global dimension; that it is equally important to compare Venetian entities with similar, possibly but not necessarily neighbouring, non-Venetian entities, and that one should also seek a diachronic comparison of Venetian and non-Venetian phases of local experiences as well as Venetian and non-Venetian elements (institutions, laws, connections, affiliations, trading patterns etc.) during phases of official Venetian rule. The longevity of Venetian institutions (and the narratives surrounding them) notwithstanding, Venetian overseas rule did change over time.⁴¹ Further case studies would help us to better evaluate the variations in Venetian rule with regard to its nature and impact on local realities.

McKee, “The Revolt of St Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (1994): pp. 173–204; Matteo Magnani, “Legal History of the Revolt of Saint Titus in Fourteenth Century Venetian Crete (1363–1366),” *Reti Medievali* 14, no. 1 (2013): pp. 131–165.

38 Arbel, “Una chiave”; for the Terraferma, see Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1993).

39 Gherardo Ortalli, “Beyond the Coast – Venice and the Western Balkans: the Origins of a Long Relationship,” in *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 9–25, here 13; see also Gherardo Ortalli, “The Genesis of a Unique Form of Statehood, between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age,” in *Il commonwealth veneziano* op. cit., pp. 3–12.

40 Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” p. 144; Sander-Faes, *Urban Elites*, p. 32.

41 For longevity of institutions, see Ortalli, “Beyond the Coast,” pp. 12 et seq.

The Venetian domain was not built on a *terra nova*. These were cities and territories permeated with political structures, institutions, laws and customs; they were saturated with statehood that in many ways continued to shape their life under Venetian rule. And thus it is important to emphasize how Venetian rule was also characterized by continuity: the Serenissima accepted pre-existing rights of local autonomy, the continuity of pre-existing social structures, and usually also pre-existing taxes, customs, laws, and institutions.⁴² Local elites were integrated into the Venetian system with relative ease, since in a deeply hierarchical society the social distance between new Venetian and old colonial elites was perhaps smaller than the difference in status between elite and non-elite.⁴³ This continuity can also be seen in an attitude of *laissez-faire* and almost neglect in other parts of the maritime realm, or with respect to the Republic's comparatively benign religious policies, which, despite officially embracing the 1438 Church Union and thus imposing Roman primacy, intervened relatively little in local, Greek Orthodox Church matters and tolerated intermarriage and liturgical transculturation.⁴⁴ These perspectives, of course, are not shared by all scholars of the Venetian empire.⁴⁵

Studies touching upon the more technical questions of connectivity with regard to the Venetian maritime realm have focused on the Venetian galley system and the respective patterns of trade. Private navigation has only recently received more sustained attention, both generally and with respect to specific parts of the realm.⁴⁶ More could be done to better evaluate the importance

42 For the continuous reference to the Byzantine legal system in Crete, see Freddy E. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (12^e–15^e siècles)* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1975), pp. 225 et seq.; O'Connell, "Men of Empire," p. 77, based on Chryssa A. Maltzou, "Byzantine 'Consuetudines' in Venetian Crete," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): pp. 269–280, and David Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Changes," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (1989): pp. 1–44.

43 David Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 2 (1967): pp. 421–481.

44 Benjamin Arbel, "Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in Venice's Overseas Colonies (Mid-Fifteenth to Mid-Seventeenth Century)," in *Religious Interactions in Europe and the Mediterranean World: Coexistence and Dialogue from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Katsumi Fukasawa, Benjamin J. Kaplan, and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 245–259.

45 See also Benjamin Arbel, "Entre mythe et histoire: La légende noire de la domination vénitienne à Chypre," *Études balkaniques: Cahiers Pierre Belon* 5, Matériaux pour une histoire de Chypre (14^e–20^e siècles) (1998): pp. 81–107.

46 Claire Judde de Larivière, *Navigation, commercer, gouverner: économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (15^e–17^e siècles)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); see also Pamela O. Long, David McGee,

of Venice in creating a new *Kommunikationsraum* (Schmitt) compared to the pre-existing connectivities.⁴⁷

Thus, while important steps towards a re-thinking of Venetian rule in a more holistic perspective have been taken, further re-contextualization in regional contexts, both synchronically and diachronically, are needed in order to better understand how Venetian the Venetian domain actually was and how Venetian rule impacted pre-existing connections and affiliations.

Actors

Monique O'Connell and Natalie Rothman, studying Venetian officials and dragomans respectively, have introduced an actor-centred approach with a focus on the “negotiating” of empire.⁴⁸ Managing a maritime state and navigating between its different components and neighbouring entities required multilingual specialists. These included dragomans (Rothman) but also officials such as *podestà*, consuls, or *baili* (O'Connell's “men of empire”), who were able to act as transimperial navigators.⁴⁹ Their status was ambiguous; they

and Alan M. Stahl, eds., *The Book of Michael of Rhodes*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009); Renard Gluzman, “Private Shipping in Renaissance Venice, 1480–1550” (PhD thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2018); Gerassimos D. Pagratis, *Koinônia kai oikonomia sto Benetiko “kratos tes thalassas” Hoi nautiliakés epikheiréseis tes Kérkuras (1496–1538)* [*Society and Economy in the Venetian “Stato da Mar”: The Shipping Enterprises of Corfu (1496–1538)*] (Athens: Pedio, 2013); for more detailed references, see the respective contributions by Kolyvâ, Pagratis, and Gluzman in this volume.

47 Oliver Jens Schmitt, “Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum (ca. 1400–ca. 1600),” in *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 77–101.

48 For this approach in empire studies, see Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Jo van Steenbergen, “Revisiting the Mamlûk Empire: Political Action, Relationships of Power, Entangled Networks, and the Sultanate of Cairo in Late Medieval Syro-Egypt,” in *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Reuven Amitai (Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2019), pp. 75–108; Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

49 E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012); O'Connell, *Men of Empire*; see also Benjamin Arbel, “Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570,” in *Cyprus and the*

mediated between Venice and local institutions and interests as well as other polities, such as the Mamluks or Ottomans.⁵⁰ This also applies to the diasporic groups and populations of the *Stato da Mar* that were similarly central to commercial and political connectivity and thus usually welcomed and generally well-protected.⁵¹ Yet again, certain Greeks, Jews, or other Italians were just as readily accepted into the Venetian privilege system as they were clearly excluded from key privileges, such as access to the Venetian trade monopolies (e.g. the transportation of pepper on state-leased galleys) or holding political

Crusades/ Kypros kai oi Staurophories, ed. Nicholas Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre and SSCLE, 1995), pp. 159–185, here 174–177.

- 50 For the Mamluk Empire, see Georg Christ, “Filippo di Malerbi un spécialiste du transfert clandestin en Égypte au début du 15^{ème} siècle,” in *Acteurs des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Daniel König, Yassir Benhima, Rania Abdellatif, and Elisabeth Ruchaud (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), pp. 100–110; also id., “The Venetian Consul and the Cosmopolitan Mercantile Community of Alexandria at the Beginning of the 15th Century,” *Al-Masaq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 26, no. 1 (April 2014): pp. 62–77.
- 51 A sizeable body of research exists on Jewish communities (e.g. Eliyahu Ashtor, “Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?,” *Studi Veneziani* xvii–xviii (1975–76): pp. 145–156; Georg Christ, “Transients? Jews in Alexandria in the Late Middle Ages Through Venetian Eyes,” in *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. John Victor Tolan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 195–216; David Jacoby, “Venice and Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean,” in *Gli Ebrei a Venezia: secoli xiv–xviii: atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall’Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore 5–10 giugno 1983*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milan: Ed. Comunità, 1987), pp. 29–58) and, to lesser extents, Armenians (e.g. Evelyn Korsch, “The Sceriman between Venice and New Julfa: An Armenian Trading Network and its Sociocultural Impacts (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries),” in *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (100–1800)*, ed. Georg Christ, Franz-Julius Morche, Roberto Zaugg, Wolfgang Kaiser, Stefan Burkhardt, and Alexander W. Beihammer (Roma: Viella, 2015), pp. 363–378) and Greeks (e.g. Kostas G. Tsiknakis, “Βενετία – Η ελληνική παρουσία στη Βενετία [Venice – Greek Presence in Venice],” in *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 4 (Athens: Στρατηγικές Εκδόσεις, 2011), pp. 129–135; James G. Ball, *The Greek Community in Venice, 1470–1620* (PhD thesis, Univ. of London, 1985)) – the three ‘classical’ diasporas as identified by Rogers Brubaker, “The ‘diaspora’ diaspora,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): pp. 1–19, here 3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997>. It remains a challenge to integrate this perspective into the bigger picture of population management within the Venetian system of rule. Benjamin Arbel edited and introduced a special volume of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* presenting case studies on Jews in the Venetian overseas territories, see his “Introduction,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 117–128; for a recent compilation of studies on diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Georg Christ et al., eds., *Union in Separation*, op. cit.

office.⁵² The Venetians themselves have been studied as a trading diaspora, with diasporic groups residing in most of the important Mediterranean trade centres, including Alexandria, where their hosts welcomed them as sources of economic and cultural capital.⁵³ Once again, the tacit assumption that they remained Venetians in these contexts is misleading. Integration into host societies took many forms and occurred on many different levels (e.g. for a Venetian in the Mamluk Empire as *habitor* of Alexandria, *musta'min* of the sultan, or

- 52 Reinhold C. Mueller, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale* (Venice: Viella, 2010); Georg Martin Thomas, "Cittadinanza veneta accordata ai forestieri (1308–1381)," *Archivio Veneto* 8 (1874): pp. 154–156; Andrea Zannini, "L'ordine imperfetto. Trent'anni di storiografia sulla cittadinanza nella Repubblica di Venezia," in *Amicitiae pignus: Studi storici per Piero Del Negro*, ed. U. Baldini and G.P. Brizzi (Milan: Unicopli, 2014), pp. 383–400; id., "Le comunità straniere a Venezia e le dinamiche di inclusione ed esclusione in città," in *Comunità e società nel Commonwealth veneziano*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2018), pp. 163–173; S.R. Ell, "Citizenship and Immigration in Venice, 1305–1500" (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1976); David Jacoby, "Citoyens, Sujets et Protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII au XV siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* v (1977): pp. 159–188, reprinted in *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979); see also Jacoby's chapter in this volume and literature cited therein.
- 53 For Constantinople, see Charles Diehl, "La colonie vénitienne à Constantinople à la fin du XIV^e siècle," in *Études byzantines*, ed. id., repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1972 (Paris, 1905), pp. 241–275; David Jacoby, "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: A State within a State," in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (Venice, 2005), pp. 19–80; id., "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?" in *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'Oriente grecolatino*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 1998), pp. 181–204, reprinted in David Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); id., "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations," in *Novum Millennium: Studies in Byzantine History and Culture Presented to Paul Speck* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 153–170; id., "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): the Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JÖB* 43 (1993): pp. 141–201; Chryssa A. Maltezou, *Ho thesmos tou en Konstantinoupolei Benetou Bailou (1268–1453)* [*The institution of the Venetian baile in Constantinople (1268–1453)*] (Athens, 1970); Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); for Alexandria, see Georg Christ, "The Venetian Consul"; for Acre, Joshua Prawer, "The Venetians in Crusader Acre," in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael E. Goodich (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 215–223; also, Benjamin Arbel, "Venetian Trade in Fifteenth-Century Acre: The Letters to Francesco Bevilacqua, 1471–72," *Asian and African Studies: Journal of the Israel Oriental Society* 22 (1988): pp. 227–288.

dhimmi of the Islamic polity).⁵⁴ Veneto-Cretans were not fully Venetian in Venice or Crete, yet they were considered Venetians in the Mamluk Empire despite retaining a degree of apartness as a relatively homogeneous, officially Venetian but de facto Cretan merchant community in Damietta.⁵⁵ How did they integrate with other Byzantine or formerly Byzantine entities? Noel Malcolm has underlined how “colonial” actors, such as the members of the Albanian Bruni family, acted as “agents of empire”, transcending imperial boundaries, and eschewing neat affiliations.⁵⁶ This invites us to question the extent to which residents of the Venetian domains were and could remain Venetian subjects and what this meant for connections between the dominions and the metropolis as well as between the dominions and other polities.

2 Questions

How, then, should we set about the task of investigating the Venetian maritime realm? Mindful of the caveats regarding Venice and empire outlined above, this volume focuses on how Venice *did* empire, that is, how Venetians engaged with and managed their realm and how they referred to it. By focusing both on the centre and the periphery of the Venetian realm and its relations with other political actors (such as the Ottomans) in the wider Venetian sphere of interest, we proposed the following questions, which the contributions in this volume address each in their own ways: (1) how did the Venetians conceptualize their (maritime) realm? (2) Which connectivities did it produce and depend upon? (3) How exactly was it shaped by, and rooted in, its specific Eastern Mediterranean environment?

- 1) How did Venice conceptualize its rule in a context of imperial entanglements? What were the Venetian claims in terms of exclusivity, sovereignty, and empire? If there was an understanding of layered statehood, how did Venetian rule affect the various layers from the communal/ municipal to the imperial levels? How did former rulers, or rulers with

54 Philippe Gourdin, “Les marchands étrangers ont-ils un statut de *dhimmi*?” in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (x^e–xvi^e siècles): actes du colloque de Conques (octobre 1999)*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 435–446, here 441 et seq.

55 Christ, “Venetian Consul,” p. 61.

56 Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Allen Lane, 2015).

otherwise competing claims, but also the local population and their elites engage with these concepts, and why and to what extent were they ambiguous in their communication? How did Venice seek to secure acquisitions, for example through diplomatic-political or financial-economic relations with former or competing stake-holders?

- 2) On which connectivities did the Venetian rule rest, and how did Venetian intervention redefine and shape political, economic and physical connections and migratory movements? What kind of connectivity or “connectedness” (Darwin) did Venetian rule produce, and how did it affect pre-existing connectivities?⁵⁷ How was Venetian overlordship guided by its protectorates’ relationships with other powers, and how did it transform them? What role did intermediaries, gifts, and diplomatic languages play, and what was the strategic importance of ambiguity in these relations? How did these connections affect actors on different scales from the individual merchant to imperial entities?
- 3) How did the legal, political, economic, and physical environments shape Venetian rule? To which extent did Venetian rule affect local practices with regard to law, economics, language, and culture? Do which extent did Venetian central government seek to “venetianize” the dominions and, if so, what did that mean? Which local practices or institutional frameworks, traditions, and practices deriving from previous overarching structures (e.g. the Byzantine Empire) survived or were discontinued? How were the different domains connected to Venice, and how were they interconnected amongst themselves?

3 **Structure: Building – Maintaining – Living – Connecting – Donating Empire**

The inquiries presented in this volume are grouped into the following five parts::

1. Building empire: the means of empire-building, including military expansions, references to Roman antiquity, and the role of historical heritage more generally.
2. Maintaining empire: the determinants of belonging, especially the crucial aspect of citizenship in Venice vs. the wider Venetian realm.

⁵⁷ For the term “connectedness,” see Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*.

3. Living empire: the minutiae of empire as experienced by the residents of the dominions.
4. Connecting empire: the practicalities of running an interconnected maritime realm, which includes many aspects of Venetian shipping.
5. Donating empire: elements of transimperial connectivity, especially regarding gift exchange and dragomans.

Part 1 – Building Empire: Communication and Architecture

Focusing on Venice and the Terraferma, the first section explores the *building* of empire with respect to architectural, communicational, and military strategies. Monique O'Connell investigates funeral orations as vehicles of imperial ambition and as reflections of the status of the Venetian polity as a realm of civic virtue. Examining references to the ancient Roman cultural heritage, she highlights the ambiguous role of the Roman past in fostering Venetian communal identity as well as a (negative) Venetian imperialist reputation. Republican Rome was typically understood as a reference to virtue and liberty, while imperial Rome implied over-ambitious expansion and decadence. Although we find Venetian orators openly playing with notions of imperial grandeur, in most cases the Venetian use of empire – *imperium* – seems to allude to the Roman Republic. The notion of empire is thus limited in time and space, signifying a type of rule that is consented to and geographically confined.⁵⁸

Deborah Howard's contribution explores Venetian architectural history with reference to the classification of old buildings as either obsolete or antique/ venerable and hence worthy of preservation, thus also reflecting on the role of the imagined past in the physical construction of Venice as an imperial city. In the political sphere, Venetians also perceived the past in a differentiated way: the *vecchio* vs. the *antico* and *venerabile*; in other words, the memorable past worthy of preservation and imitation was contrasted with a past that should be overcome. Venetians thus (very much in line with the political narrative of original liberty) cherished some of their old buildings and opted for the imperially Romanesque blueprints of Renaissance architectural ideals only selectively, upholding and communicating a tradition that was vested in the continuation of local styles.

⁵⁸ A point also raised by Lorenzo Calvelli during the workshop, reminding us that Flavio Biondo had rejected the term empire for the Venetian polity already in the fifteenth century, see Biondo, "De origine," passim, preferring terms such as *res publica* (also *respublica*, i.e. republic), *urbs*, and *patria*. He did, however, also use *imperium* (e.g. p. 291), similar to Sanuto (see above): *nuperque Crema rei publicae imperio adiungendis maximis laboribus*.

The theme of communication is continued with Franz-Julius Morche's essay, which analyses the practicalities of patrician correspondence between Venice and the Terraferma on the basis of letters sent by Marino Morosini to his son-in-law Lorenzo Dolfin, resident in Vicenza between c.1425 and 1427. A peculiar piece among these letters is an undated report on the battle of Macclodio (1427), an important moment of Venetian empire-building on the Terraferma in the first half of the fifteenth century, which appears to have served as some form of personal newssheet and thus presents an intermediate type in the progression from personal mercantile correspondence to purchasable *avvisi*. The keen patrician interest in Terraferma affairs reflected in these letters highlights the contrast between the concept of a Venetian realm embodied in the two a priori equal wings of St Mark's lion – Terraferma and *Stato da Mar* – and a gradual *translatio imperii* from a primarily sea-borne to a primarily land-based polity, a development that was deplored by the diarists Priuli and Sanuto.⁵⁹

Part 2 – Maintaining Empire: Citizenship and Belonging

While different types of citizenship and social entitlements have been identified and studied in the case of Venice proper, fewer insights are available for the Venetian overseas dominions. Which concrete modes of belonging did the Serenissima offer to its overseas subjects? Did they acquire a form of citizenship, and what was the concrete value of such a status in different places? While the economic life in the colonies has been studied extensively, the following two chapters provide additional case studies of how Venetian rule added to pre-existing and continuing layers of legal identity and belonging that shaped the space of action for colonial subjects.⁶⁰

David Jacoby z¹ explores the different statuses of Venetian citizenship. He shows that Venetian colonials, although “nationals,” had a lower status than the regular citizens of Venice. Since, in medieval contexts, citizenship emanated from the municipality (the *civitas*), colonial Venetians remained citizens of their city and only gained limited access to Venetian privileges as a result of their *civitas* entering into a particular relationship with another *civitas*: Venice.

Natives of the dominions were thus considered Venetian in certain contexts, especially outside of the Venetian realm, but they did not become full citizens of Venice by default. Hence, Venetian citizenship can be understood as a relational concept that was both hierarchically and spatially differentiated. This is

59 For the two wings, see Arbel, “Venice's Maritime Empire,” p. 130.

60 See for example note 1 in Pagratis's chapter in this volume.

illustrated, most strikingly, in the case of the *Nobili scaduti*, *Stato da Mar* patricians, who, despite noble rank fell somewhat short of the status of patrician elites in Venice. Dorit Raines highlights a particular moment when the nominal equivalence of colonial and metropolitan patrician statuses was put to the test: the return of Venetian nobles from Crete during the war of Candia in the seventeenth century. Their failure to blend in successfully with Venetian patrician life demonstrates that Venice, the *dominante*, maintained an attitude of distinctive superiority to her dominions even vis-à-vis Venetian *Stato da Mar* elites.

Part 3 – Living Empire: Migration and Life in the Maritime Dominions

Conceiving the Venetian overseas dominions as a cluster of places and political entities under (different forms of) metropolitan control inevitably leads to the question of how imperial connections, local institutions, and the rights inherited from previous empires shaped the daily life in the *Stato da Mar*. To which extent did regional and local imperial affiliations and associated legal systems in the lands of the *Stato da Mar* coexist and interact with Venetian political authority and Venetian law? How was commercial exchange organized? Beyond the question of citizenship, what did it really mean to be Venetian in the Eastern Mediterranean in the context of overlapping spheres of imperial and sub-imperial power, and which opportunities did Venetian rule create regarding social and physical mobility?

Wealthy overseas families in particular attempted to restructure their regional power base in symbiosis with Venice. They combined political offices with economic activity in the wider Venetian realm and its extended privileged trade area. They did not, however, give-up transimperial connections within the eventually predominantly Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean. Marianna Kolyvà shows how local families in Venetian maritime territories succeeded in establishing themselves as a successful class of merchant-citizens combining different opportunities, connections, and forms of belonging. Members of the Siguro family of Zante participated in a tributary embassy to the Ottoman court. Their example incorporates both Veneto-centric and colonial-peripheral perspectives on how Zante reached deep into the peripheries of both Constantinople and Venice, and how Venetian dominions cultivated relations to the Ottoman Empire.

Gerassimos Pagratis also highlights business links between Venetian and Ottoman-Greek merchants. He analyses in particular the business of the Vergi family of Corfu, which participated in the Venetian commercial system, focusing on the growth of their commercial activities during the latter two centuries

of the Venetian republic. The case study reveals a system of business operation that was primarily based on family ties, allowing family members to cooperate loosely and flexibly on the basis of informal arrangements. Sharing networks of external collaborators that ensured their access to both European and Ottoman markets, families such as the Vergi appear to have performed a crucial role during the alleged long decline of the Venetian maritime economy, ensuring the continuous flow of eastern goods into the Venetian market and gaining significant political privileges in return, including full Venetian citizenship.

Tassos Papacostas explores family histories of the Cypriot elite in the mid-sixteenth century, especially the wealthy Singlitico family. Venetian nobles often married wealthy Cypriot women from families such as the Singlitico, thus weaving them into the Venetian metropolitan elite. The study of madrigals, which combines a musicological approach with prosopography and material culture, highlights the familiarity of Cypriot elites with Italian literary production and their wider cultural orientation towards Venice in the face of the Ottoman threat.

Nicholas Davidson shows that religious identities in particular were far from being uniformly controlled in the sixteenth-century *Stato da Mar*. Greek subjects were able to worship in line with Orthodox theological and liturgical traditions. While intermarriage between Latins and Greeks was common, Latins residing in the *Stato da Mar* frequently practised the Orthodox faith of their spousal partners, and the steadily growing Greek community in Venice equally became more visible, culminating in the construction of San Giorgio dei Greci in 1536. The religious intermingling between Latins and Greeks reflected the close social and economic integration of both communities, especially across the *Stato da Mar*, which made the formally existing hierarchy between the Latin and Greek churches difficult to enforce. The religious intermingling also had wider implications for cultural integration, as evidenced in the sharing of sacral buildings and the joint celebration of festivities.

Part 4 – Connecting Empire: Navigation and the Flow of Goods

Connectivities also shaped the ability to project power on the ground. Shipping, for instance, determined the speed, frequency, and intensity of communication and hence the projection of power. The state-sponsored Venetian merchant galley system has thus received the lion's share of scholarly attention to the detriment of the private and especially the petty navigation often undertaken by colonial subjects of Venice.⁶¹

61 Renard Gluzman, "Between Venice and the Levant: Re-evaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 96, no. 3 (2010): pp. 264–294; Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise* (Leiden: Brill,

Reinhold Mueller focuses on a concrete and crucial aspect of inter-regional connectivity: the entrance to the port of Venice as the *passage obligé* and needle eye to the Serenissima's maritime empire. Mueller reviews different descriptions of the port entrance from travelogues as well as from contemporary visual depictions.

Renard Gluzman further explores maritime connectivities, investigating the statuses and legal identities of both Venetian and foreign ships. Gluzman corroborates the image of a well-integrated Venetian commercial area as drawn by the case studies of colonial families in the previous section. Venetian rule eliminated restrictions of movement while creating and managing a frontier towards the rest of the world. Yet these external barriers could be challenged based on older and continuing imperial free trade agreements reaching, for instance, into the Ottoman Mediterranean and mitigating emerging religious and political divides. This also mirrors Jacoby's findings on the differentiation of Venetian citizenship, and provides an additional example of how Venice was set apart from the rest of the Venetian realm.

The flow of ideas is another crucial characteristic of empire that was central to Venice's practice of *translatio imperii*.⁶² Books contain *Herrschaftswissen*, and their accumulation and preservation in large libraries is a typical preoccupation of universal empires. *Translatio imperii* thus also means the transfer of such knowledge through books from one library to the next, as seen for instance in Bessarion's library of Byzantine books which formed the nucleus of the Venetian Marciana library.⁶³ Giacomo Corazzol explores such knowledge transfers on the micro-scale by analysing the circulation of books among Jewish medical scholars outside and within the Venetian realm, excluding the city of Venice. The concrete example of the library of Levi Nomico in fifteenth-century Crete contained works of both foreign (mainly Spanish) and local provenance, thus highlighting the role of Candia and its Jewish community in connecting different parts of the Mediterranean. It provides another decentralized view on the Venetian realm, and reasserts the significance of Crete not only as a trading hub but also as an intellectual centre within a wider

1995); Claire Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner: économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (xv^e–xvi^e siècles)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Venise et le monopole du sel: Production, commerce et finance d'une République marchande (x^e–xvii^e siècles)*, 2 vols. (Venice and Paris: Istituto Veneto di SLA/ Institut des Belles-Lettres, 2012).

62 See e.g. Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

63 See Concetta Bianca, "Bessarione e l'altra Bisanzio," in *Storia mondiale dell'Italia*, ed. Andrea Giardina (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2017), pp. 318–321.

trans-Venetian communication system. Here, the “empire” (i.e. the dominion) did not “write back”; Venice, the would-be imperial centre, seems almost irrelevant.⁶⁴

Part 5 – Donating Empire: Gyrfalcons, Dragomans, and Gift Exchange

Venice and its realm were located at the intersection of different imperial spheres: the Mamluk and Byzantine, later the Ottoman Empires, the papacy, and, to an extent, the Holy Roman Empire. The various ways in which Venice deepened its entanglements with these empires are revealed by examining envoys and dragomans as the primary actors and managers, and gifts as the primary objects of cross-imperial exchange.

The role of gift exchange as a means of diplomatic communication is analysed by Housni Alkhateeb Shehada. He cites the specific example of gyrfalcons from the Arctic sent through and by Venice to the Mamluk sultan as a particularly spectacular and prestigious gift to facilitate the tricky negotiations following the 1365 Alexandrian crusade. Venice's particular position as an economic intermediary thus even had an impact on the exchange between vastly different ecosystems, as the gyrfalcons were brought from their natural environment in the European far north to Egypt.

Maria Pia Pedani (†) investigates the career of the Venetian dragoman Michele Membrè in the context of his family relations and his involvement with Cypriot communitarian networks. A Cypriot of Circassian descent, he became a Venetian citizen and served the Republic as an interpreter both in Venice and on numerous diplomatic missions. The minutiae of Veneto-Ottoman relations illustrate the pivotal role of the dragomans in the tightly interlaced spheres of diplomacy and trade. Through the lens of newly discovered archival and art-historical evidence, Pedani provides a thorough account of Membrè's personal and public life, including his role as a church donor in the context of the Counter-Reformation, which illuminates the finely tuned diplomatic-commercial relationship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire.

Adopting a similar focus on the nexus between material and diplomatic exchange, Natalie Rothman explores aspects of the Veneto-Ottoman “gift economy” through ledgers of the Venetian bailate in Istanbul. Tracing gift exchange between Ottomans and Venetians from an Ottoman-centric perspective, she

64 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* (London: Routledge, 2002).

highlights the ambiguity and bivalence of gifts that, against the backdrop of universal imperial Ottoman claims, were received as a Venetian tribute by the Ottomans. Gifts given to women, especially the wives and daughters of dragomans, underline their significance as links between the Venetian *bailo* and the wider Catholic Istanbulite community.

4 Conclusion and Outlook

Challenging established interpretations of the Venetian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Terraferma, the presented essays recalibrate Venetian rule between different imperial spheres, claims of authority, and political and economic ambitions. The aim here was to highlight the differentiations and restrictions of social mobility within the Venetian realm while also providing insights into the trans-Venetian connectivities. Overall, the essays highlight the key characteristics of an ambiguous form of polity; a nascent state with imperial traits vis-à-vis its dominions that remained characterized by the necessity to relate to frameworks of universal empires.

This volume confirms the impression that Venice, even if it was not an empire in the strictest sense, certainly *had* empire, thought empire, and behaved imperialistically (O'Connell, Morche).⁶⁵ At the same time, Venice essentially remained a city-state, a *civitas*, a municipality of quasi-royal status flirting with notions of classical imperium and antiquity (Howard, O'Connell). She negotiated her *imperium* as the capital, the *dominante*, with(in) the surrounding universal empires, thus connecting and entangling them. Venice was, in adaptation of W.H. McNeill's famous title, the hinge *between* different empires.⁶⁶ Of course, this changed over the years, and late eighteenth-century Venice was in many ways more imperial (certainly more territorial) than thirteenth-century Venice or, even, the Venice of the "imperial age" (1380–1580, according to Chambers),⁶⁷ which was in many ways maximising de facto empire within pre-existing imperial frameworks.

65 See also Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. 20; Jane Burbank, "Thinking Like an Empire: Estate, Law, and Rights in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 196–238; Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 154, 189, 200.

66 McNeill, *Venice*.

67 Chambers, *Imperial Age*.

The studies assembled here take note of this by considering both Venice and Venetian elements of the *Stato da Mar* while also moving beyond Veneto-centric perspectives. Dissecting the political realm layer by layer, starting with the merchants and their families and ships, moving on to local communities and municipalities and, eventually, to the universal or oecumenical, “international” imperial order, they contribute to a holistic framework for interpreting the dynamics of Venetian rule. Thus emerges a world of microcosmic statelets with their own military assets and political elite (Kolyvà), but also their own, trans-Venetian networks of cultural exchange within a wider Euro-Mediterranean system (Corrazol, Papacostas) extending beyond a Venetian “communicative space.”⁶⁸

And yet, despite the internal divisions and alternative belongings of its various constituent parts, the Venetian realm was defined by its outer shell. It thus resembles a *Privilegiengemeinschaft* (a community of shared privileges in which members were able to participate to different degrees) as shown with regard to citizenship (Jacoby, Raines) or shipping (Gluzman). This outward-facing, tentative homogenisation did not, however, imply unreserved integration; the city-state or *civitas* of Venice eagerly excluded all but the most prominent colonial subjects from its ranks. The city thus maintained a hierarchical, even exploitative economic position vis-à-vis its domains.⁶⁹

The Venetian realm thus appears as a remarkably fluid and flexible, but also stable, political order involving de-territorialized forms of statehood, diasporic communities, confederated alliances, hegemonial spheres, and both informal and formal empire; an entity characterized by an assertive impact of a *dominante* on her dominions coupled with a continuity of local customs and old affiliations. Because the Serenissima accepted that political cultures remained essentially grounded in both the local and the pre-existing overarching, imperial structures, it succeeded in weaving a diverse set of entities into an ever-changing heterogeneous, multi-layered fabric of belonging. Although serving Venice’s own interests first and foremost, this strategy also allowed for a considerable degree of agency, social mobility, cultural expression, and economic prosperity for individuals and communities in the dominions.

A peculiar element of this pattern of integration lies in the ways in which Venice enacted intermediate connections, for example, through Zante’s tributary mission to the Sublime Porte (Kolyvà), dragomans (Pedani) or the circulation of gifts (Rothman). Such delegation of connectivity naturally came with a

68 Schmitt, “Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum.”

69 Arbel, “Una chiave.”

degree of agency for the delegate, whose intermediary status did not so much constitute a third category of subjects acting within a third space, a thick boundary of sorts; rather, they were masters of dual allegiances operating within matrices of ambiguous gestures and meanings.⁷⁰

Was the Venetianness of those peripheral communities and individuals in the Venetian realm an empty notion, a mere label of convenience?⁷¹ Probably not, but there was certainly more to them than simply Venice and Venetian-ness. This is not to say that the *dominante* did not exert a strong pull on its subordinates, or that it was not an attractive destination for migrants.⁷² Nevertheless, it might be a promising strategy for future research to de-centre the Venetian realm, to de-Venetianize it, so to speak. A more deliberately comparative and diachronic focus would allow exploring different entities within their respective regional circumstances, assessing the extent to which they remained part of their regional and meta-regional contexts; that is, to assess the transformative impact of the Venetian empire against the backdrop of a continuous embeddedness into overarching imperial systems.

In this context, the practicalities of doing empire are crucial – how was Venice physically communicating with the realm, how significant were Venice's proximity or distance compared to other centres such as Constantinople/ Istanbul, Rome, or Cairo? The questions of how Venice was accessed (Mueller) and how shipping was organized (Gluzman) are crucial, as are details on how the nuts and bolts of connectedness functioned in practice (Alkhateeb Shehadeh, Pedani, Rothman).

Some comparative studies tend to classify Venice as a trading post empire, a city (state), a republic, or a territorial state.⁷³ These classifications, mirroring elements of the Martin/ Romano quadriga of conceptions of Venice (city state,

70 Rothman, *Brokering*, pp. 4, 248; Christ, "Filippo di Malerbi"; id., "Venetian Consul"; see also, for a non-Venetian example of such a mediated connectivity in a slightly later period: Mark Ravina, "Japan in the Chinese Tribute System," in *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai*, ed. Tonio Andrade and Hang Xing (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), pp. 353–363.

71 The term *Abrufbegriff* (label of convenience) has been used by Bernd Schneidmüller with respect to the term 'Europe' in the Middle Ages, characterized by an ad hoc inscription of meaning according to specific needs. Bernd Schneidmüller, "Die mittelalterlichen Konstruktionen Europas: Konvergenz und Differenzierung," in *Europäische Geschichte als historiographisches Problem*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Andreas Kunz (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1997), pp. 5–24.

72 Christ, "Transients."

73 See e.g. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, pp. 117 et seq.; or "commercialized maritime state," "commercial empire," see Tilly, "Cities and States," pp. 568 (also: republic), 571 (also, indirectly: territorial state), for city state: pp. 564, 582; also for city state, see Hendrik Spruyt,

republic, territorial state, empire)⁷⁴ naturally invite comparisons with other such empires, such as the Dutch or the English; other republics, such as, again, the Netherlands, Switzerland, or even the Protectorate; other territorial states (especially in Italy), or other city states, such as Genoa or Ragusa.⁷⁵ Other notable impulses come from Henrik Spruyt's study of sovereignty, which proposes to compare Venice to other multipolar commercial confederations such as the Hanseatic League.⁷⁶ Overall, while some historical comparison has been achieved, Maria Fusaro is right in suggesting to analyse Venice more organically as a composite state.⁷⁷ In fact, further research should compare more broadly and globally while considering Venice through the specific lenses of *civitas*, republic, territorial state, and (maritime, trading post) empire.

Wider comparison will also serve to flesh out the specificities of the Venetian experience. The alliance between rulers, dynasties, and the city in, say, Barcelona and Aragon, Ancona and Rome, or Naples and Anjou etc., though formally absent in the Venetian experience, will still allow a re-consideration of Venetian relations with the papacy, Byzantium, and the Mamluk and Ottoman Empires. In addition, more systematic comparisons of factionalism in Genoa and Venice will challenge or corroborate ideas of Venetian political

The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994). Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2011) focus more strongly on continental empires and have, in any case, little to say on Venice (pp. 10 (city state), 68 et seq., 111, 119 (map): Venetian empire, 131 et seq., 170).

74 John J. Martin and Dennis Romano, eds., *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

75 For comparisons of empires, see above, p. 3 et seq. Not much seems to have been done on Dutch-Venetian comparisons with regard to empire (see Salvatore Ciriaco, *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), for an ecological-historical comparison); on republics: Urte Weeber, *Republiken als Blaupause: Venedig, die Niederlande und die Eidgenossenschaft im Reformdiskurs der Frühaufklärung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); for comparative approaches to the Venetian territorial state of the Terraferma, see Andrea Gamberini and Isabella Lazzarini, eds., *The Italian Renaissance State* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012); for a comparison of city states, e.g. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet, eds., *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'état moderne (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: CNRS, 1988).

76 Spruyt, *Sovereign States*.

77 Fusaro, *Political Economies*, p. 22; for composite monarchies, see John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992): pp. 48–71, with the important difference, however, that the Venetian doge was not holding the composites together, as they were clearly subordinate to the *dominante* within a system of overarching imperial orders, see Jacoby, "Venetian Presence," p. 142 and *passim*.

stability, while the comparison with Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese imperial ventures could shed further light on whether and how these empires were inspired by the Venetian experience, or, alternatively, how their own institutional continuities set their essentially *ex nihilo* empire-building apart from the Veneto-Mediterranean trajectory.⁷⁸

The richest potential, however, may be found in global comparisons. For example, the Ryuku islands as a double-allegiance small state through which (tributary) trade relations between China and Tokugawa Japan were mediated without upsetting Japanese sensitivities regarding sovereignty could help to better understand Veneto-Ottoman relations (as mediated, for example, through Zante).⁷⁹ The juggling of imperial affiliations by the robust, sultanal city state of Malacca might serve as an insightful case study with which to reconsider how a city state could *have* empire, or rather, *needed* to have empire to navigate global trade systems, which, however, also required the complementary ability to negotiate relations with other, pre-existing, large-scale empires.⁸⁰ A comparison with trans-Venetian trade connectivities might suggest



FIGURE 1.1 Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean

78 Ortalli, "Beyond the Coast," 12 et seq.; Arbel, "Chiave," p. 157; Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. xviii.

79 Ravina, "Japan."

80 Georg Christ, *A King of Two Seas? Mamluk Maritime Trade Policy in the Wake of the Crisis of the 14th Century* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017).

to hitch a fifth horse to the chariot: that of Venice as a (relatively small) player in an overarching political-commercial space, the universal empire, which only very gradually went out of fashion in the early modern period. Here again, Venice and England offer a fruitful comparison: upholding an imploding imperial order vs. attempts to construct a global commercial hegemony. In this context, the leads in this volume could also be extended to Venetian diasporic communities as facilitators of both commercial exchange – and the managing of empire.⁸¹

References

- Alighieri, Dante. *The De Monarchia*, trad. A. Henry. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1904.
- Appuhn, Karl Richard. *A Forest on the Sea: Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in Venice's Overseas Colonies (Mid-Fifteenth to Mid-Seventeenth Century)." In *Religious Interactions in Europe and the Mediterranean World: Coexistence and Dialogue from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries*. Ed. Katsumi Fukasawa, Benjamin J. Kaplan, and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire. London: Routledge, 2017: pp. 245–259.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Una chiave di lettura dello Stato da Mar veneziano nell'età moderna: La situazione coloniale." In *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015: pp. 155–179.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Venice's Maritime Empire." In *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*. Ed. Eric R. Dursteler. Leiden: Brill, 2013: pp. 125–253.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Introduction." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 117–128.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Entre mythe et histoire: La légende noire de la domination vénitienne à Chypre." *Études balkaniques: Cahiers Pierre Belon* 5, Matériaux pour une histoire de Chypre (IV^e–XX^e siècles) (1998): pp. 81–107.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570." In *Cyprus and the Crusades/ Kypros kai oi Staurophories*. Ed. Nicholas Coureas and J. Riley-Smith. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre and SSCLE, 1995: pp. 159–185.
- Arbel, Benjamin. "Venetian Trade in Fifteenth-Century Acre: The Letters to Francesco Bevilaqua, 1471–72." *Asian and African Studies: Journal of the Israel Oriental Society* 22 (1988): pp. 227–288.

81 I.e. groups excluded from O'Connell's *Men of Empire*, p. 8, but arguably crucial for Venetian imperial connectedness, see Christ, "Venetian Consul."

- Arenson, Sarah. "Food for a Maritime Empire: Venice and Its Bases in the Middle Ages." In *Maritime Food Transport [the International Commission for Maritime History – assembled at the 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Madrid (26 August to 2 September 1990)]*. Ed. Klaus Friedland. Cologne: Böhlau, 1994: pp. 177–185.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Ashtor, Eliyahu. "Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?" *Studi Veneziani* XVII–XVIII (1975–76): pp. 145–156.
- Ball, James G. "The Greek Community in Venice, 1470–1620." PhD thesis, Univ. of London, 1985.
- Barkey, Karen. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. The Wilder House series in politics, history, and culture/ Cornell paperbacks. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Bassano, Castellano da. "Venetianae pacis inter Ecclesias et Imperum libri duo." In *Le vite dei dogi di Marino Sanuto*. Ed. Giovanni Monticolo. Rer. Ital. Script., 2^a ed., XXII, 4. 1900–11: pp. 485–519.
- Battistella, Antonio. "Il Dominio del Golfo." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 35 (1918): pp. 5–102.
- Bauden, Frédéric. *The Mamlūk Sultanate and Its Periphery*. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2020.
- Bayart, Jean-François. "Karen Barkey, Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, online 2009, <https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/3976>, accessed 20/11/2018.
- Bianca, Concetta. "Bessarione e l'altra Bisanzio." In *Storia mondiale dell'Italia*, ed. Andrea Giardina. Bari: Editori Laterza, 2017: pp. 318–321.
- Biondo, Flavio. "De origine et gestis Venetorum." In *Blondi Flavii Forliviensis De Roma triumphante libri decem: priscorum scriptorum lectoribus utilissimi, ad totiusque Romanae antiquitatis cognitionem pernecessarii; Romae instauratae libri III; Italia illustrata; Historiarum ab inclinato Rom. imperio Decades III: Omnia multo quam ante castigatoria*. Basel: Froben, 1531: pp. 273–292.
- Borsari, Silvano. *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, Seminario di storia medioevale e moderna. Naples: Fiorentino, 1963.
- Bouwsma, William J. *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968.
- Bovi, Bonincontro dei. "Incipit Hystoria de discordia et persecutione quam habuit Ecclesia cum Imperatore Federico Barbarossa...." In Marino Sanuto, *Le vite dei dogi*, vol. 1. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Muratori) t. XXII parte IV. Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900–1911: pp. 370–417.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Perspective of the World*. London: Fontana Press, 1984.

- Bulst, Neithard and Jean-Philippe Genêt, eds. *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'état moderne (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.
- Burbank, Jane. "Thinking Like an Empire: Estate, Law, and Rights in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*. Ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev. Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2007: pp. 196–238.
- Burbank, Jane, and Frederick Cooper. *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2011.
- Cattaneo, Carlo. *La città: considerata come principio ideale delle istorie italiane*. Florence: Vallecchi, 1931.
- Cessi, Roberto. *La Repubblica di Venezia e il Problema Adriatico*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1953.
- Chambers, David Sanderson. *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.
- Christ, Georg. *A King of Two Seas? Mamluk Maritime Trade Policy in the Wake of the Crisis of the 14th Century*. Ulrich Haarmann Memorial Lecture 13. Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017.
- Christ, Georg. "Transients? Jews in Alexandria in the Late Middle Ages Through Venetian Eyes." In *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*. Ed. John Victor Tolan. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015: pp. 195–216.
- Christ, Georg. "The Venetian Consul and the Cosmopolitan Mercantile Community of Alexandria at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century." *Al-Masaq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 26, no. 1 (April 2014): pp. 62–77.
- Christ, Georg. "Did Greek Wine Become Port? Or Why Institutional Interventions Matter (c. 1350–1780)." *Quaderni Storici* 143, no. 48, 2 (Aug 2013): pp. 333–358.
- Christ, Georg. *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Christ, Georg. "Filippo di Malerbi: un spécialiste du transfert clandestin en Égypte au début du 15^{ème} siècle." In *Acteurs des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale*. Ed. Daniel König, Yassir Benhima, Rania Abdellatif, and Elisabeth Ruchaud. Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012: pp. 100–110.
- Christ, Georg. "Masked Cooperation with the Infidel? The Venetian Commercial Privileges, Political Power, and Legal Culture in Mamlûk Egypt." In *Power and Culture: Hegemony, Interaction and Dissent*. Ed. Ausma Cimdina. Pisa: Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press, 2006: pp. 33–51.
- Christ, Georg, and Franz-Julius Morche, Roberto Zaugg, Wolfgang Kaiser, Stefan Burkhardt, and Alexander D. Beihammer, eds. *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*. Rome: Viella, 2015.

- Ciriaco, Salvatore. *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times*. Translated by Jeremy Scott. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Colás, Alejandro. *Empire*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Cozzi, Gaetano. "Venezia regina." *Studi Veneziani* XVII (1989): pp. 15–26.
- Crouzet-Pavan, Elisabeth. *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Crowley, Roger. *City of Fortune: How Venice Won and Lost a Naval Empire*. London: Faber & Faber, 2012.
- Curtin, Philip D. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy, eds. *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Darwin, John. *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*. London: Allen Lane, 2012.
- De Vivo, Filippo. "Historical Justification of Venetian Power in the Adriatic." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): pp. 159–176.
- Diehl, Charles. "La colonie vénitienne à Constantinople à la fin du XIV^e siècle." In *Études byzantines*. Ed. Charles Diehl. repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1972 (Paris, 1905).
- Doyle, Michael W. *Empires*. Cornell studies in comparative history. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Dursteler, Eric R. *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Ell, S.R. "Citizenship and Immigration in Venice, 1305–1500." PhD thesis. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976.
- Elliott, John H. "A Europe of Composite Monarchies." *Past & Present* 137 (1992): pp. 48–71.
- Esmer, Tolga U. "Economies of Violence, Banditry, and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800." *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (2014): pp. 163–199.
- Fenlon, Iain. *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Fried, Johannes. *Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik*. Munich: Beck, 2004.
- Fuesslin, Johann Melchior. *Eigentliche Abbildung der feyrlich beschwornen Bundes-Erneuerung zwischen... Venedig ... und ... Zürich und Bern* (Zurich, 1706), StArchiv ZH C 1, Nr. 470, 473, 468. Vollmacht an ven. Residenten Vendramino Bianchi, unterschr.

- Sekr. Gaspara Marino 11.05.1706; Protokoll über Beschwörung vom 11.01.1706, Bundesvertrag (Latin, with three seals) 12.01.1706.
- Fusaro, Maria. "Venetian Empire." In *The Encyclopedia of Empire*. Ed. John M. MacKenzie. Chichester: John Wiley, 2016: pp. 2173–2183.
- Fusaro, Maria. *Political Economies of Empire: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England 1450–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Gamberini, Andrea, and Isabella Lazzarini, eds. *The Italian Renaissance State*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012.
- Gluzman, Renard. "Between Venice and the Levant: Re-evaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century." *The Mariner's Mirror* 96, no. 3 (2010): pp. 264–294.
- Gourdin, Philippe. "Les marchands étrangers ont-ils un statut de dhimmi?" In *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (x^e–xvi^e siècles) : actes du colloque de Conques (octobre 1999)*. Ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002.
- Grotius, Hugo. *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1648.
- Grove, Alfred Thomas, and Oliver Rackham. *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Grubb, James. "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography." *The Journal of Modern History* 58, no. 1 (1986): pp. 43–94.
- Hélian, Louis. *Lo squitinio della libertà originaria di Venezia: con un discorso di Luigi Helian, ambasciatore di Francia, contro i Veneziani*. Cologne: Pietro di Martello, 1681.
- Herrin, Judith, *Margins and Metropolis: Authority across the Byzantine Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Hocquet, Jean-Claude. *Venise et le monopole du sel: Production, commerce et finance d'une République marchande (x^e–xvii^e siècles)*, 2 vols. Venice and Paris: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti/ Institut des Belles-Lettres, 2012.
- Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Jacoby, David. "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State." In *Quarta Crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2007: pp. 19–80.
- Jacoby, David. "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations." In *Novum Millennium: Studies in Byzantine History and Culture Presented to Paul Speck*. Ed. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takacs. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Jacoby, David. "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (1989): pp. 1–44. Reprinted in *Byzantium, Latin*

- Romania and the Mediterranean*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 703. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Jacoby, David. "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?" In *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'Oriente grecolatino*. Ed. Chryssa A. Maltezos. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 1998.
- Jacoby, David. "La production du sucre en Crète vénétienne: l'échec d'une entreprise économique." In *Rodônia: Timè stòn M. I. Manoúsaka* [*Homage to M. I. Manoussakas*]. Ed. Chryssa A. Maltezos, Th. Detorakes, and Chr. Charalampakes. Rethymno, 1994: pp. 167–180. Reprinted in *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*. Ed. David Jacoby. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- Jacoby, David. "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): the Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993): pp. 141–201.
- Jacoby, David. "Venice and Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean." In *Gli Ebrei a Venezia: secoli XIV–XVIII: atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore 5–10 giugno 1983*. Ed. Gaetano Cozzi. Milan: Ed. Comunità, 1987: pp. 29–58.
- Jacoby, David. "Citoyens, Sujets et Protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII au XV siècle." *Byzantinische Forschungen* v (1977): pp. 159–188. Reprinted in *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XI^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1979.
- Jacoby, David. "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque." *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* 2 (1967): pp. 421–481.
- Judde de Larivière, Claire. *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner: économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. *World Economic Primacy: 1500 to 1990*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Korsch, Evelyn. "The Sceriman between Venice and New Julfa: An Armenian Trading Network and its Sociocultural Impacts (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)." In *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1000–1800)*. Ed. Georg Christ, Roberto Zaugg, Franz-Julius Morche, Wolfgang Kaiser, Stefan Burkhardt, and Alexander D. Beihammer. Roma: Viella, 2015: pp. 363–378.
- Kumar, Krishan. "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States: Two Principles, One Practice?" *Theory and Society* 39, no. 2 (2010): pp. 119–143.
- Maglaque, Erin. "The Literary Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Empire." *Italian Studies* 73, no. 1 (2018): pp. 35–52.

- Maglaque, Erin. *Venice's Intimate Empire: Family Life and Scholarship in the Renaissance Mediterranean*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Magnani, Matteo. "Legal History of the Revolt of Saint Titus in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete (1363–1366)." *Reti Medievali* 14, no. 1 (2013): pp. 131–165.
- Malcolm, Noel. *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*. London: Allen Lane, 2015.
- Maltezou, Chryssa A. "Byzantine 'Consuetudines' in Venetian Crete." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 269–280.
- Maltezou, Chryssa A. *E Krete ste diärkeia tes periodou tes venetokratias*. Herakleion: Syndesmos topikon enoseon dimon kai koinotiton Kritis, 1990.
- Maltezou, Chryssa A. *Ho thesmos tou en Konstantinoupoli Benetou Bailou (1268–1453)* [The Institution of the Venetian Baile in Constantinople (1268–1453)]. Bibliothekē Sophias N. Saripolou 6, Athens, 1970.
- Maltezou, Chryssa A., and Aspasia Papadaki. *Rethymno veneziano, atti del simposio (Rethymno, 1–2 novembre 2002)*. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2003.
- Maltezou, Chryssa A., ed. *Kupros-Benetia. Koinē istorikēs tukhēs = Cipro-Venezia: Comuni sorti storiche (Atti del simposio internazionale, Atene, 1–3 marzo 2001)*. Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 2002.
- Marin, Serban V. "The Venetian Community – Between Civitas and Imperium: A Project of the Capital's Transfer from Venice to Constantinople, According to the Chronicle of Daniele Barbaro." *European Review of Economic History* 10, no. 1 (2003): pp. 81–102.
- Marin, Serban V. "Venice and *translatio imperii*: The Relevance of the 1171 Event in the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition." *Annuario Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 3, no. 3 (2001): pp. 45–103.
- John J. Martin and Dennis Romano, eds. *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- McKee, Sally. "Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete." *Past & Present* no. 182 (February 2004): pp. 31–53.
- McKee, Sally. "The Revolt of St Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (1994): pp. 173–204.
- McNeill, William Hardy. *Venice: The Hinge of Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Miller, William. *The Latins in the Levant. A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1908.
- Motyl, Alexander J. *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Mueller, Reinhold C. *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale*. Venice: Viella, 2010.

- Muir, Edward. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, ed. *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima: Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*. Nicosia, 2009.
- O'Connell, Monique. "Humanists, Diplomats, and Historians of Empire in Fifteenth-Century Venice." Paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting 2015 (Berlin, 26–28 March 2015).
- O'Connell, Monique. "Legitimizing Venetian Expansion: Patricians and Secretaries in the Fifteenth Century." In *Venice and the Veneto During the Renaissance: The Legacy of Benjamin Kohl*. Ed. Michael Knapton, John E. Law, and Alison A. Smith. Florence: Florence University Press, 2014: pp. 71–86.
- O'Connell, Monique. *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*. The Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science, Ser. 127, 1, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Ortalli, Gherardo, ed. *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre – 5 ottobre 1997*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998.
- Ortalli, Gherardo. "Beyond the Coast – Venice and the Western Balkans: the Origins of a Long Relationship." In *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009: pp. 9–25.
- Ortalli, Gherardo. "The Genesis of a Unique Form of Statehood, between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age." In *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015.
- Ortalli, Gherardo, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando, eds. *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015.
- Ortalli, Gherardo, ed. *Comunità e società nel Commonwealth veneziano*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2018.
- Ortalli, Gherardo, and Dino Puncuh, eds. *Genova, Venezia e il Levante (secc. XII–XIV), Genova-Venezia, 10–14 marzo 2000* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2001).
- Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the Worlds: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Pagratis, Gerassimos D. *Koinônia kai oikonomia sto Benetiko "kratos tes thalassas" Hoi nautiliakés epikheiréseis tes Kérkuras (1496–1538)[Society and Economy in the Venetian "Stato da Mar": The Shipping Enterprises of Corfu (1496–1538)]*. Athens: Pedio, 2013.
- Paladini, Filippo Maria. *Un caos che spaventa: poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta*. Venice: Marsilio, 2002.

- Panayiotakes, Nikolaos M., ed. *Krete: Istoria kai politismos*. Herakleion: Syndesmos topikon enoseon dimon kai koinotiton Kritis, 1990.
- Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Perry, David M. "1308 and 1177: Venice and the Papacy in Real and Imaginary Crusade." In *La papauté et les croisades: actes du VII^e Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Avignon 27–31 août 2008*. Ed. Michel Balard. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011: pp. 117–129.
- Pezzolo, Luciano. "The Rise and Decline of a Great Power: Venice 1250–1650." *Working Paper, Department of Economics, Ca' Foscari University of Venice*, no. 27 (2006).
- Pokorny, Rudolf. "Ein Herrschaftsvertrag mit Rücktrittsrecht der Untertanen: Karpachthos, 1307." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, no. 1 (2008): pp. 155–168.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth. "Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change." *Journal of World History* 18 (2007): pp. 69–98.
- Prawer, Joshua. "The Venetians in Crusader Acre." In *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Ed. Michael E. Goodich. New York: Peter Lang, 1995: pp. 215–223.
- Priuli, Girolamo. *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*. Eds. Arturo Segre and Roberto Cessi. Città di Castello/ Bologna: Casa Editrice S. Lapi/ N. Zanichelli, 1912–1944.
- Pullan, Brian, David Sanderson Chambers, and Jennifer Fletcher. *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Rackham, Oliver, and J.A. Moody. *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1996.
- Ravina, Mark. "Japan in the Chinese Tribute System." In *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai*. Ed. Tonio Andrade and Hang Xing. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016: pp. 353–363.
- Reinert, Sophus. *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Romano, Dennis. "City-State and Empire." In *Venice and the Veneto: Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance*. Ed. Peter Humfrey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008: pp. 9–30.
- Rosand, David. *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State*, Bettie Allison Rand Lectures in Art History. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Rothman, E. Natalie. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. 1: The Foundations. New York: John Wiley, 1880.
- Saint-Guillain, Guillaume. "Protéger ou dominer? Venise et la mer Égée (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)." In *Il commonwealth veneziano tra 1204 e la fine della Repubblica: identità e peculiarità*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2015: pp. 305–338.

- Sander-Faes, Stephan. *Urban Elites of Zadar: Dalmatia and the Venetian Commonwealth (1540–1569)*. Rome: Viella, 2013.
- Santschi, Elisabeth. “Contrats de travail et d’apprentissage en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle d’après quelques notaires.” *Revue suisse d’histoire* 19 (1969): pp. 34–74.
- Scammell, Geoffrey Vaughan. *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c. 800–1650*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981.
- Schmitt, Oliver Jens. “Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum (ca. 1400–ca. 1600).” In *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver Jens Schmitt. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009: pp. 77–101.
- Schneidmüller, Bernd. “Die mittelalterlichen Konstruktionen Europas: Konvergenz und Differenzierung.” In *“Europäische Geschichte” als historiographisches Problem*. Ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Andreas Kunz, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, Beiheft 42. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1997: pp. 5–24.
- Schneidmüller, Bernd. *Grenzerfahrung und monarchische Ordnung: Europa 1200–1500*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2011.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton Studies in International History and Politics. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994.
- Steenbergen, Jo van. “Revisiting the Mamlūk Empire. Political Action, Relationships of Power, Entangled Networks, and the Sultanate of Cairo in Late Medieval Syro-Egypt.” In *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*. Ed. Stephan Conermann and Reuven Amitai. Mamluk Studies 17. Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2019, pp. 75–108.
- Stöckly, Doris. *Le système de l’incanto des galées du marché à Venise*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Tabak, Faruk. *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550–1870: A Geohistorical Approach*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Tafari, Manfredo. *Venice and the Renaissance*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995.
- Teixeira, Stephanie M., and Keri E. Iyall Smith. “Core and Periphery Relations: A Case Study of the Maya.” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 14, no. 1 (2015): pp. 22–49.
- Thomas, Georg Martin, and Riccardo Predelli, eds. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum sive acta et diplomata res venetas graecas atque levantis illustrantia a. 1351–1454*, pars II. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, Venice, 1899.
- Thomas, Georg Martin. “Cittadinanza veneta accordata ai forestieri (1308–1381).” *Archivio Veneto* 8 (1874): pp. 154–156.
- Tilly, Charles. “Cities and States in Europe, 1000–1800.” *Theory and Society* 18, no. 5 (1989): pp. 563–584.

- Topping, Peter. "Venice's Last Imperial Venture." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, no. 3 (1976): pp. 159–165.
- Tsiknakis, Kostas G. "Βενετία – Η ελληνική παρουσία στη Βενετία [Venice – Greek Presence in Venice]." In *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 4. Athens: Στρατηγικές Εκδόσεις, 2011.
- Tucci, Ugo. "Il commercio del vino nell'economia cretese." In *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre–5 ottobre 1997*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998: pp. 183–206.
- Ventura, Angelo. *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del Quattrocento e Cinquecento*. Early modern 1. Milano: Edizioni Unicopli, 1993.
- Verlinden, Charles. "La Crète, débouche et plaque tournante de la traite des esclaves aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles." In *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani nel Venticinquennio di Cattedra universitaria*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1962: pp. 593–669.
- Verlinden, Charles. *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Weeber, Urte. *Republiken als Blaupause: Venedig, die Niederlande und die Eidgenossenschaft im Reformdiskurs der Frühaufklärung*. Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution 42. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.
- West-Harling, Veronica, ed. *Three Empires, Three Cities: Identity, Material Culture and Legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna, and Rome, 750–1000*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.
- Zannini, Andrea. "L'ordine imperfetto: Trent'anni di storiografia sulla cittadinanza nella Repubblica di Venezia." In *Amicitiae pignus: Studi storici per Piero Del Negro*. Ed. U. Baldini and G.P. Brizzi. Milan: Unicopli, 2014: pp. 383–400.
- Zannini, Andrea. "Le comunità straniere a Venezia e le dinamiche di inclusione ed esclusione in città." In *Comunità e società nel Commonwealth veneziano*. Ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Oliver Jens Schmitt, and Ermanno Orlando. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2018: pp. 163–173.